

THE CLASSIFICATION OF VERBS IN FULA

THESIS

SUBMITTED FOR THE M. PHIL DEGREE

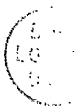
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A B S T R A C T

This thesis deals with the classification of verbs in the Fula language.

Both syntactic and semantic criteria are used to arrive at a systematic analysis of the relationships of verbs to the nominals that construct with them. Halliday's approach to transitivity in English is used as the theoretical basis, especially at the semantic level.

The thesis contains four chapters and two appendices. The first chapter, a grammatical survey, deals with the maximum number of nominals with which verbs can construct, the question of pronominalisation of the nominals, the possibility of their omission, and their occurrence as subject of the corresponding Passive form. Chapter II outlines the relevant aspects of Halliday's treatment of English, in particular his 'clause types' and 'participant roles'. Chapter III shows how far these are applicable to Fula, and suggests supplementary categories which are required for the Fula situation. Chapter IV demonstrates how Fula verbs can be classified on the basis of the clause types in which they operate and the participant roles of their dependent nominals.

Some special Fula verb-types and constructions are described in Appendix A. Appendix B presents, in tabulated form, the behaviour, as described in Chapter IV, of a variety of individual verbs.

A C K N O W L E D G E M E N T S

The work that produced this thesis was undertaken in the School of Oriental and African Studies during a study fellowship and a study leave given to me in the first case by Ahmadu Bello University and in the second case by Bayero University College, Kano. I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness to both these institutions. I am also grateful to the Bauchi State Government who, through their Scholarship Board, gave me a supporting grant during my study leave.

I am also grateful to all my friends and colleagues who helped me in any way during the course of this work, especially to Dr. W. Moran and Mal. Dalhatu Muhammad, whose help came when I needed it most. My thanks also go to Miss M.C. Gilbert who typed this thesis. My wife Maryam and Bacci, had to put up with months of inconvenience in my absence.

The guidance and help of my supervisor, Professor D.W. Arnott, have been invaluable at all stages of the work.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
Abstract	2
Acknowledgements	3
Introduction	5
Chapter I Grammatical Survey	8
Chapter II Halliday's Approach to English	17
Chapter III Halliday's Approach applied to Fula	25
Chapter IV Classification of Verbs on the basis of Clause Types and Participant Roles	36
Concluding Remarks	61
Appendix A	62
Appendix B	72

THE CLASSIFICATION OF VERBS IN FULA

I N T R O D U C T I O N

This thesis is concerned with a framework for classifying verbs in the Gombe dialect of the Fula language.

A number of books have been written during the last 80 years on the grammar of Fula in its various dialects, some on traditional lines, others on a more modern grammatical basis.¹

In these the morphology of the verbal system has been described with varying degrees of accuracy and understanding. The fullest treatment to appear so far is D.W. Arnott's 'The Nominal and Verbal Systems of Fula' (Oxford - The Clarendon Press 1970). In this book Arnott treats, in detail, both the nominal and the verbal systems of the Fula language in general using the Gombe dialect as a model. In the section on the verbal system he discusses various morphological aspects of the verbal forms, including verbal radicals and their morphological categories, radical extensions, the tense suffixes and the various forms of subject, object and preterite elements which together form 'the verbal system'; and he also discusses the meanings associated with the various tenses and their usage in various types of clauses. He does not, however, deal in any detail with the relationships of verbs to other grammatical units particularly nominals with which they construct in normal Fula clauses.

1. These books include:-

- | | | |
|-----------------------|------------|--|
| GUIRAUDON, TH. G.D.E. | 1887 | Notes des linguistique africaine
Les Puls. Paris. Leroux. |
| ARENSDORFF, L. | 1913 | Manuel pratique de la langue
peulh. Paris. P. Geuthner. |
| GADEN, H. | 1913, 1914 | Le poular. Dialecte Peul du Fouta
Senegalais. Paris Leroux.
(Collection de la Revue du monde musulman) |
| TAYLOR, F.W. | 1921 | A first grammar of the Adamawa dialect
of the Fulani language. Oxford.
Clarendon Press. |
| KLINGENHEBEN, A. | 1963 | Die Sprache der Ful (Dialekt von Adamawa)
J.J. Augustin (Afrika nische Forschungen) |

A study of these relationships revealed considerable variations at both syntactic and semantic levels and in the specific nature of the verbs themselves. In the light of this, the main object of this thesis is to show the various ways in which verbs resemble and differ from one another on the basis of both syntactic and semantic criteria, and arrive at a framework for classifying them.

Attention is mainly focussed on the verbs in their simple forms since a consideration of their extended forms would involve features which are certainly important but which need to be dealt with separately from the behaviour of simple unextended verbs.

The starting point for the research on which the thesis is based was as complete a list as possible of the monosyllabic verb-roots in the Gombe dialect obtained by a consonant-plus-vowel grid, (by far the largest proportion of simple verbal roots in the language being monosyllabic). This was based on both my own speech as a native speaker of that dialect and contributions by other native speakers obtained at home during field work.

Working with this list a preliminary survey was made to see what divisions can be made on the basis of the types of grammatical units that can precede the verb and what can follow it within a clause.

With regard to what can precede the verb, an initial investigation of the relationships between the verb and a nominal preceding it did not prove productive, although further study later revealed certain significant semantic and other distinctions.

With regard to what follows the verb, a tentative study of the adverbial groups that can occur in post-verbal position did not prove fruitful either though again a more exhaustive study might do so.

Turning to the nominal or nominals that follow the verb, it was found that a reasonable framework for classifying verbs could be arrived at on the basis of ways in which they relate to one another

at both the syntactic and semantic levels. A simple division of verbs into 'transitive' and 'intransitive' on traditional lines proved inadequate and a preliminary distinction between 'expandable' and 'non-expandable' verbs proved more suitable with further distinctions among the expandable verbs on the basis of the number of 'dependent nominals' with which they can construct.

While this provides some basis for a syntactic classification it proved inadequate to cover all the Fula verb-nominal relationships at the semantic level. At this stage M.A.K. Halliday's analysis for English in his three articles 'Notes on transitivity and theme in English' was found to be very helpful and his approach was adopted for a re-examination of the Fula situation and proved useful as a basis for verb classification.

The thesis presents the results of the investigation described above. The first chapter is a grammatical survey of verbs and the behaviour of the dependent nominals that follow them. Chapter II is an abridged account of the relevant features of Halliday's approach to transitivity in English, particularly his 'clause types' and 'participant roles'. In Chapter III this approach is applied to Fula with the addition of certain points that are applicable to Fula but not to English. Chapter IV shows how it is possible to arrive at a classification of Fula verbs on the basis of the various 'clause types' in which they occur and the 'participant roles' of the dependent nominals with which they construct.

Of the two appendices the first contains an account of certain special groups of verbs and certain other constructions which are relevant as a background to the discussion in the body of the thesis. The second is a chart which presents graphically some of the more significant data contained in the analysis of the behaviour of verbs that construct in the Effective clause types. Verbs in the Descriptive, Intensive and Ergative clause types are either too few in themselves or construct with too few participants and are not included.

CHAPTER I

A GRAMMATICAL SURVEY

Expandability and Non-Expandability

In considering the relations between a verb and the following nominal or nominals, it might seem appropriate at first to make the traditional distinction between transitive and intransitive verbs. But this distinction can cater for only a few of the relationships that exist between verbs and the nominals that follow them in Fula constructions. Many verbs that would, say for English, be treated as intransitive, like MAAYA 'die', MAUNA 'grow' and ILA 'flow' can be followed by nominals dependent on them.

e.g. BELLO MAAYII WEELO	'Bello died (from) hunger'
BELLO MAUNII HOORE	'Bello became big (of) head'
FUIRE ILII MBORDI	'The ulcer flowed pus'

For this reason more neutral terms 'expandable' and 'non-expandable' are used - expandable to refer to those verbs that can be followed by one or more nominals and non-expandable to refer to verbs which cannot. This distinction will also allow for the considerable variation at both the syntactic and semantic levels between the different types of verbs and different types of following nominals.

Dependent Nominals. It is clear from the foregoing, and from the few examples given, that the relationships between verbs and the nominals that follow them are far from uniform. In the same way as the term 'transitive' cannot adequately describe these various relationships, and another term has to be used, another term also has to be found to describe these nominals that follow the verbs and relate to them in different ways. The term 'dependent nominal',

henceforth abbreviated to d.n., is used. In this and subsequent chapters an attempt will be made to describe the various ways in which verbs construct with the dependent nominals and how they relate to each other.

Expandable and non-expandable verbs. In Fula it is only relatively few verbs that cannot be followed by a d.n. related to them in one way or another. Examples of these are YANA 'fall', (objects), NUFA 'sink' (in mud)', MUTA 'sink', UMSA 'roar' and SAAYA 'become invisible through a charm'. The majority of verbs are expandable. Some take only one d.n. and others two d.n.'s. These are referred to as one-nominal expandable and two-nominal expandable verbs, or simply one-d.n. and two-d.n. verbs.

One-nominal Expandable Verbs

A large number of Fula verbs can be followed by a maximum of only one dependent nominal or nominal phrase. In the following examples

ALI NDAARII FIJIRDE 'Ali watched the play'

FAATU NYALLII BURSOL HOTTOLLO 'Fatu spent the day ginning cotton'

the nominals FIJIRDE 'play' and the nominal phrase BURSOL HOTTOLLO 'ginning cotton' are dependent on the verbs NDAARA and NYALLA respectively.

In classifying the verbs that can be followed by one-d.n. it is appropriate to consider first their grammatical behaviour. Three different kinds of grammatical distinctions can be made as described below.

1. Pronominalisation of d.n.

The first major distinction is in respect of the possibility of replacing the d.n. by a pronoun dividing the verbs into (a) those verbs

whose d.n. can be either a noun or a pronoun

e.g. YIDO in BELLO YIDAKE ARDO/MO 'Bello saved Ardo/him'
 NYIFA in BELLO NYIFII YIITE/NGE 'Bello put out the fire/it'

In other words the nouns ARDO and YIITE can be replaced with the corresponding pronouns MO and NGE & (b) Those whose d.n.'s can only be a noun and not a pronoun

e.g. FAATA in BELLO FAATII LUUMO 'Bello headed for the market'
 but not * BELLO FAATII NGO
 TABAKE in BUUBA TABAKE AKKO 'Buba stayed indefinitely in Akko'
 but not * BUUBA TABAKE NGO

These two nouns LUUMO 'market' and AKKO (name of a town) cannot be replaced by pronouns. Any nouns that occur as d.n.'s to this kind of verb cannot be replaced by pronouns.

2. Passive Transformation

The second grammatical distinction that can be made with regard to the expandable verbs is that between (a) and (b) below.

(a) Verbs with which the d.n. can occur as a subject of the corresponding passive form.

e.g. BUUBA LONNJII WAARE 'Buba stored away the (corn) bundle'
 from which one can derive

WAARE LONNJAAMA 'The bundle has been stored away',

BELLO NODDII BUUBA 'Bello called Buba'

from which one can derive

BUUBA NODDAAMA 'Buba has been called'.

(b) Verbs whose d.n.'s cannot function as subjects of the corresponding passive form.

e.g. BELLO UUMII BONE 'Bello groaned (out of) suffering'.

it is not possible to say *BONE UUMAAMA which would have been the corresponding passive form. Also

BELLO SUKKII HOORE 'Bello has become hairy (on the) head'

where HOORE cannot be subject of a corresponding passive form.

3. Omissibility

The third grammatical distinction that can be made is on the basis of the omissibility of the d.n. This gives two categories of verb:

(a) Verbs whose d.n. is so much an intrinsic part of the verbal behaviour that the verb cannot occur without a d.n. except in mooted contexts (i.e. in response or where the nominal has been mentioned in the same or an immediately preceding sentence or the thing referred to is present in the situational context)

e.g. HAADA in SAALE HAADII KUUMO 'Sale stopped (at) Kumo'
SON'YA in BELLO SON'YII SHEEDE 'Bello jingled (with) money'

Neither HAADA nor SON'YA can occur without the d.n.'s.

(b) Verbs that can occur without the d.n. even in non-mooted contexts

e.g. LA'YA in BELLO LA'YII BURUUTI 'Bello limped (because of)
guinea-warm'

Here it is possible to say BELLO LA'YII 'Bello limped' also

UNA in SHATU UNII GAURI 'Shatu pounded corn'

where it is possible to say SHATU UNII 'Shatu pounded'.

Within this group of verbs (group 3(b)) a further distinction can be made between (i) verbs such as LA'YA; and (ii) verbs such as UNA.

In the first case the normal behaviour seems to be without the d.n. BELLO LA'YII but the possibility of adding the d.n. always exists.

With the second group, the normal behaviour is with the d.n. SHATU UNII GAURI but the d.n. can always be omitted.

Two-nominal Expandable Verbs

It is possible to classify the two-d.n. expandable verbs in the same way as the one-nominal expandable verbs, i.e. according to their behaviour when they are followed by these d.n.'s. But in the case of

the two d.n. expandable verbs, the classification is in two stages.
At one stage the classification is with reference to the first d.n.
and at the second stage it is with reference to the second d.n.

A. With Reference to the First d.n.

1. Pronominalisation

With the great majority of the two-d.n. verbs the first d.n. can
be pronominalised.

e.g. BELLO FIYII BUUBA HELLO 'Bello hit Buba a slap'

BUUBA can be replaced by a pronoun to give

BELLO FIYII MO HELLO 'Bello hit him a slap'

also

BELLO HOKKII BUUBA SHEEDE 'Bello gave Buba money'

BUUBA can be replaced by a pronoun to give

BELLO HOKKII MO SHEEDE 'Bello gave him money'

In fact, examining a considerable number of examples of the two-d.n.
verbal behaviour suggests that pronominalisation of the first d.n. is
almost a universal phenomenon. The few exceptions are constructions
with verbs like WARA in

BELLO WARII KANO JANNGUKI 'Bello came to Kano (for) reading'

KANO cannot be replaced by a pronoun, so

*BELLO WARII NGO JANNGUKI is not possible.

2. Passive Transformation

As with pronominalisation, the possibility of the first d.n.
becoming the subject of the passive also covers the majority of the
two-d.n. verbs. To use the same examples again,

BELLO FIYII BUUBA HELLO 'Bello hit Buba a slap' (Active)

can become

BUUBA FIYAAMA HELLO 'Buba was hit a slap' (Passive)

BELLO HOKKII BUUBA SHEEDE 'Bello gave Buba money' (Active)

can become

BUUBA HOKKAAMA SHEEDE 'Buba was given money' (Passive)

It is noticeable, however, that the same verbs that could not take a pronoun in the first d.n. position cannot function either with that first d.n. in the subject position of a passive transformation.

3. Omissibility

(i) In certain two-d.n. constructions it is possible to omit the first d.n.

e.g. BELLO AAWII NGESAA GAURI 'Bello sowed the fam(with) corn'
which is comparable in meaning with

BELLO AAWII GAURI E NGESAA 'Bello sowed corn in the farm'

The first d.n. can be omitted giving

BELLO AAWII GAURI 'Bello sowed corn'

Similarly in the case of BELLO HOKKII BUUBA SHEEDE it is possible to omit the first d.n. giving BELLO HOKKII SHEEDE.

(ii) With certain other two-d.n. verbs it is not possible to omit the first d.n.

e.g. BELLO LAPPII BUUBA 'YOMMBAL 'Bello hit Buba (with) a stalk'
It is not possible to say *BELLO LAPPII 'YOMMBAL.

B. With Reference to the Second d.n.

1. Pronominalisation

With certain verbs the second d.n. can be pronominalised.

e.g. BELLO HOKKII BUUBA SHEEDE 'Bello gave Buba money'
SHEEDE can be pronominalised to give

BELLO HOKKII DE BUUBA 'Bello gave it (to) Buba'.

It should be noted that since in Fula a pronoun object always follows closely after the verb, when the second d.n. is pronominalised its pronoun occurs before the first so that the construction is as above and not *BELLO HOKKII BUUBA DE.

With other verbs the second d.n. cannot be pronominalised. These are verbs like FIYA 'hit' in

BELLO FIYII BUUBA HELLLO 'Bello hit Buba a slap'

HELLO cannot be pronominalised so

*BELLO FIYII BUUBA NGO is not possible.

2. Passive Transformation

With the majority of verbs the second d.n. cannot function as subject of the passive, so constructions like

*HELLO FIYAAMA BUUBA

*GAURI AAWAAMA NGESAA

are not possible. Even where this is possible like

SHEEDE NDOKKAAMA BUUBA 'Money was given Buba'

it has a marginal acceptability (as against the more normal

BUUBA HOKKAAMA SHEEDE

given earlier), and is rarely used.

3. Omissibility

It is possible to omit the second d.n. with most two-d.n. verbs

e.g. BELLO FIYII BUUBA HELLO 'Bello hit Buba a slap'

HELLO can be omitted leaving

BELLO FIYII BUUBA

However with verbs that have collocational restrictions the second d.n. cannot be omitted, so that constructions like

BELLO SOLNYII BUUBA HELLO 'Bello hit Buba a slap'

cannot become

*BELLO SOLNYII BUUBA

This grammatical approach if taken far enough will cover certain of the behaviours and special relationships between the verbs and their d.n.'s. In addition to the grammatical features ~~above~~, however, there are crucial semantic features that need to be taken into account.

A few examples may help to illustrate this point.

- | | | |
|-----|---------------------------|--|
| 1. | BELLO NYAAMII NYIIRI | 'Bello ate food' |
| 2. | ALLA TAGII DUUNIYAARU | 'God created the world' |
| 3. | GITE ILII GONDI | 'eyes flowed tears' |
| 4. | BUUBA DINWII JAANGOL | 'Buba trembled from cold' |
| 5. | BUUBA 'YIWII MAAYO | 'Buba came from the river' |
| 6. | BELLO FIYII BUUBA HELLO | 'Bello hit Buba a slap' |
| 7. | BELLO FIYII BUUBA HOORE | 'Bello hit Buba (on the) head' |
| 8. | BELLO FIYII BUUBA SAURU | 'Bello hit Buba ^(wi tk) a stick' |
| 9. | BELLO FIYII BUUBA BINNGEL | 'Bello hit Buba ^(ts) child' |
| 10. | BELLO HOKKII BUUBA NAIRA | 'Bello gave Buba Naira' |
| 11. | BUUBA SOODII MBAALU NAIRA | 'Buba bought a sheep ^(for) a Naira' |

Even a glance can show that there are differences at the semantic level in the relationships between the verbs and their d.n.'s. Comparing 1 and 2 the d.n. NYIIRI in 1 receives the action denoted by the verb but the d.n. in 2 DUUNIYAARU comes into existence as a result of the action. In 3 the d.n. neither receives the action nor results from it but actually performs the action. In 4 the d.n. causes the action whereas in 5 it merely shows a direction. Again in 6-9 where the same verb is used the first d.n. BUUBA is the object in all four. But the additional d.n.'s have each a different relationship between it and other parts of the construction. HELLO 'slap' for example explains the kind of process referred to by the verb FIYA 'hit'; on the other hand HOORE 'head' restricts the application of the process of the verb to a part of the body rather than the whole of it. SAURU 'stick' denotes the instrument used in carrying out the action while BINNGEL 'child' is in genitival relationship with the first d.n. BUUBA. NAIRA in 10 and 11 differ in that while in 10 it is a direct object, in 11 it denotes a value or a price.

These semantic relationships are many and varied and have been found to be relevant to the general verb-d.n. relationships and the grammatical behaviour of the two. These relationships and their effects on verbal behaviour are considered in the remaining chapters as a basis of classifying Fula verbs.

In defining these relationships,-- M.A.K. Halliday's articles ~
'Notes on transitivity and theme in English' in the Journal of
Linguistics (3.1, 1967; 4.1, 4.2, 1968)-have proved to be very
helpful and his approach is explained in the next chapter and
applied subsequently.

C H A P T E R I I

Halliday's Approach to English

In his articles on transitivity and theme in English, M.A.K. Halliday is essentially concerned with the problem of the behaviour and classification of verbs in English and their relationship to associated nouns, a problem which is similar to that with which we are concerned in this study. The aim of this chapter is to give a concise but sufficient explanation of Halliday's principles and approach as a background for the application to Fula of these principles and approach in subsequent chapters.

Halliday recognises different types of constructions which he refers to as clause types, and explains the different roles the participants in these clause types play - referred to as participant roles. But while Halliday introduces the participant roles at the same time as he introduces the clause types, it is considered more appropriate here, for reasons of clarity, to consider them separately starting with the latter.

Clause Types

In the first of his three articles Halliday discusses nine different clause types which he illustrates and labels as follows (the Arabic numerals are mine, the Roman represent his numbering in his first article):

Extensive Clauses

Effective

1. (i) She washed the clothes.
Effective, operative, goal transitive.
2. (viii) She washed (sc. the clothes)
Effective, operative, goal intransitive.
3. (ii) The clothes were washed.
Effective, receptive, agent oriented.
4. (ix) The clothes washed.
Effective, receptive, process oriented.

5. (vii) She washed (sc. herself)
Effective middle.

Descriptive

6. (iii) The prisoners marched.
Descriptive middle.
7. (v) He marched the prisoners.
Descriptive operative.
8. (vi) The prisoners were marched.
Descriptive receptive.

Intensive Clauses

9. (a) They think her happy. (depictive)
(b) They make her happy. (resultative)
Intensive operative.
10. (iv)(a) She looked happy. (depictive)
(b) She became happy. (resultative)
Intensive middle.
11. (a) She is thought happy. (depictive)
(b) She is made happy. (resultative)
Intensive receptive.

In the third of his articles Halliday stresses the importance for English of the ergative pattern (which he treats as the nuclear clause type for English). The following are examples of the ergative pattern.

Ergative Clauses

12. John opened the door.
Ergative operative.
13. The door opened.
Ergative middle.
14. The door was opened (by John).
Ergative receptive.

Clause types 1 - 8 labelled Extensive clause types, and are called action type clauses, whereas type 9 - 11, the Intensive clause types are ascriptive type clauses involving the ascription of attributes to the subject. The extensive clauses are of two major types. In types 1 - 5 the action is directed at a goal and these are called effective clause types. But in types 6 - 8 the action is not directed at a goal but an initiator may be involved as well as an actor, and these

are called descriptive clauses. Effective clauses are divided into operative clauses where the actor is realised as the subject of the clause (types 1 and 2); receptive clauses where the goal is realised as the subject (types 3 and 4); and middle clauses where the action is reflexive - it is directed towards a goal, but the goal is identical with the actor, and both are realised as the subject of the clause.

A further distinction is made between an operative clause where the goal is actually mentioned (type 1) and one where it is not mentioned, (type 2); both are labelled operative, but the former is called goal-transitive and the latter goal-intransitive. The two receptive types of clause also differ from each other, in that in type 3 there is an implied agent, expressed or unexpressed, so it is labelled agent-oriented. But in type 4 the emphasis is on the process itself and this clause is therefore called process-oriented.

As regards the descriptive clauses, type 6 'the prisoners marched' is labelled descriptive middle because the actor and the initiator of the action are identical, and both realised as subject. Type 7 'he marched the prisoners', in which the initiator of the action is the subject and the actor is the object, is labelled descriptive operative, whereas type 8 'the prisoners were marched', in which the actor is the subject and there is also an implied initiator who may or may not be mentioned, is labelled descriptive receptive.

In the intensive clause types attributes are either ascribed to a person or thing, or result from the process of the verb. In 9(a), 'they think her happy' the subject 'they' merely ascribes the attribute of happiness to the object 'her', but in 9(b) the attribute 'happy' is the result of the process of the verb 'make'. For this reason 9(a), 10(a) and 11(a) are called intensive attributive, while the (b) counterparts are called intensive resultative.

Like the extensive clause types, the intensive types are also operative (9 (a) and (b)), middle (10 (a) and (b)) and receptive (11 (a) and (b)).

In the ergative clause types 12, 13 and 14 it is more appropriate to talk of cause and effect rather than actor, action and goal. In type 12 'John opened the door' (John caused the door to be open) the causer is the subject and the affected is the object. This clause type is called ergative operative. In type 14 the affected (the door) is the subject with the verb always in the passive form, a causer is implied but may or may not be mentioned. This is ergative receptive. In type 13 the affected (the door) is the subject and no causer is implied and the verb is always in the active form. This is called ergative middle, just as 'she washed (herself)' was called effective middle.

The labels of these clause types can be tabulated as follows:

Extensive	Effective	Operative	Goal-transitive	1.(i)
		Operative	Goal-intransitive	2.(viii)
		Receptive	Agent-oriented	3.(ii)
	Descriptive	Receptive	Process-oriented	4.(ix)
		Middle		5.(vii)
		Middle		6.(iii)
		Operative		7.(v)
Intensive		Receptive		8.(vi)
		Operative		9.
		Middle		10.
		Receptive		11.
Ergative		Middle	Affected is subject verb active	13.
		Operative	Affected is causer is subject	12.
		Receptive	Affected is subject verb is passive causer implied	14.

Participant Roles

The participants in the various types of sentences play different and varied roles in the constructions. The relevant participant roles which Halliday distinguishes may be listed as follows:

1. Actor
2. Initiator
3. Goal
4. Result
5. Beneficiary
6. Range
7. Attribute
8. Attribuant
9. Attributor
10. Condition
11. Causer
12. Affected
13. Identifier
14. Identified

1. Actor

As the name suggests, the role of this participant is that of doing the action. It occurs for instance as subject in

- (a) Extensive Effective Operative Clause.
e.g. 'she' in 'she washed the clothes'.
- (b) Descriptive Middle Clauses
e.g. 'prisoners' in 'The prisoners marched'.
- (c) Descriptive clauses involving range.
e.g. 'he' in 'he jumped the wall'.

2. Initiator

The initiator initiates the action by another participant, the actor. It occurs in descriptive ^{operative} clauses only, e.g. 'he' in 'he marched the prisoners'. He did not do the 'marching' (or action) but was the initiator of the action performed by 'the prisoners'. The prisoners, as shown above, being the 'actor'.

In descriptive middle clauses, the same participant simultaneously plays the two roles of 'initiator' and 'actor' as in 'the prisoners marched' where 'the prisoners' plays both roles.

3. Goal

This is the participant on which the action falls. It occurs in effective, operative clauses, e.g. 'the clothes' in 'she washed the clothes' and in effective, receptive clauses, e.g. 'the clothes' in 'the clothes were washed'.

4. Result

The 'result' is the participant that comes into existence as a result of the process of the verb, e.g. 'house' in 'John built a house'. The house comes into existence as a result of the 'building'.

5. Beneficiary

This is the participant that benefits from the process expressed in the clause. It occurs inter-alia in effective and intensive clauses, e.g. Effective - 'John' in 'they paid John the money'
Intensive - 'him' in 'she made him a good wife'

6. Range

Range specifies the extent of the scope or relevance of the process. It occurs in descriptive clauses, e.g. 'wall' in 'he jumped the wall' (scope); 'tennis' in 'he played tennis' (quality); 'five miles' in 'he ran five miles' (quantity). In some cases, the range is co-extensive with, is indeed a mere nominalization of, the process, e.g. 'song' in 'he sang a song'. It can also occur in effective, operative clauses, e.g. 'five shillings' in 'he charged John five shillings'.

7. Attribute

This is a characteristic ascribed to one of the participants in the clause; but it is one that relates specifically to the process in question. It occurs obligatorily in intensive clauses,

e.g. (a) 'happy' in 'Mary seems happy'
and (b) 'they made Mary happy'.

It can also occur in extensive clauses,

- e.g. (c) 'black' in 'he drinks his coffee black'
 (d) 'he painted the door black'.

The attribute is of two types, depictive, where the attribute is a concomitant of the process and resultative where the attribute is a result of the process. (a) and (c) are depictive while (b) and (d) are resultative.

8. Attribuant

This is the participant that carries the attribute. It can occur in all types of clauses. In intensive middle clauses it is the obligatory subject, e.g. 'she' in 'she looked happy' (intensive depictive); but in extensive clauses it is always combined with other roles, e.g. 'she' in 'she lay drowsy' (descriptive depictive, ^{attribuant} and ^{subject}); 'door' in 'he painted the door green' (extensive operative, resultative, attribuant and goal); 'her' in 'he made her happy' (intensive operative resultative, attribuant and goal).

9. Attributor

This is the participant that ascribes the attribute to the attribuant, e.g. 'he' in 'he found her attractive'.

10. Condition

Condition is an abbreviation of 'conditional attribute', i.e. the condition under which the process can take place. e.g. 'naked' in 'she looks beautiful naked'; 'empty' in 'I can carry it empty'.

11. Causer

This is the participant which causes the process in ergative clauses, e.g. 'John' in 'John opened the door', i.e. John caused the door to open. It would also be possible to regard the initiator in descriptive operative clauses as being the causer.

12. Affected

This is also found in ergative clauses and it is the participant that is affected by the process, e.g. 'door' in 'the door opened' and 'John opened the door'. It would also be possible

to regard various other participants as 'affected', e.g. 'Mary' is actor/affected in 'Mary washed'. 'Clothes' is goal/affected in 'the clothes washed'.

13. Identifier

This occurs in intensive clauses where one participant (the identifier) establishes the identity of another participant, e.g. 'the teacher' and 'the tall one' in 'John is the teacher' and 'John is the tall one' respectively.

14. Identified

e.g. John in the two examples above (i.e. in 13).

As stated earlier, the clause types and participant roles described above, have been found to be relevant to Fula. This relevance will be explained in detail in the next chapter which describes the Fula counterparts of Halliday's clause types and participant roles and supplementary types and roles which are found necessary for Fula. Where there is a direct correlation, a comparison will be made, and, using the same approach, those aspects that are peculiar to Fula will be explained and terms postulated for them.

HALLIDAY'S APPROACH APPLIED TO FULA

Fula clause types correspond to Halliday's for English except in the Extensive effective receptive types where Fula has more subtypes than English.

However, the differences in the verb classes that construct in the various clause types in the two languages are not the same since the criteria for classifying verbs in the verbal systems of the two languages are not identical.

In his treatment of clause types for English, Halliday necessarily takes account of the differentiation between the two voices in the English verbal system - active and passive - and in the receptive clause types passive forms are used as distinct from the active forms used on all other types.

In Fula also a voice distinction needs to be taken into account since there are again certain 'voice restrictions' on the potentiality of occurrence in different clause types.

In Fula, however, the position is rather more involved, and before dealing with the clause types themselves it is necessary to give a preliminary brief explanation of the 'voice' classification in Fula verbal system.¹

There are three voices in the Fula verbal system, the Active, the Middle and the Passive voices. Morphologically verbs in the different voices have different series of endings which vary according to 'tense'.

1. See ARNOTT, D.W. The Nominal and Verbal Systems o Fula.
432 pp. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1970.

The endings for the past tense, for instance, are - ii, - ake and - aama, for Active, Middle and Passive respectively.

e.g.	YAH-II	went	
	MAUN-II	grew	ACTIVE
	FUD-II	germinate	
	BUUT-AKE	became cheap	
	DAR-AKE	stopped/stood	MIDDLE
	DICC-AKE	knelt	
	WAARR-AAMA	became impotent	
	WEEL-AAMA	became hungry	PASSIVE

The above verbs are restricted to only one voice and may be referred to respectively as A verbs, M verbs and P verbs.

Such one-voice verbs, however, are not many. The majority of verbs have more than one voice potential. The voice system considering all verbs is as follows:-

A verbs	Active voice only
M verbs	Middle voice only
P verbs	Passive voice only
A/P verbs	Active and Passive
M/P verbs	Middle and Passive
A/M/P verbs	Active, Middle and Passive.

No hard and fast rules can be made about the differences in the meanings associated with these voices, but where a verb occurs in more than one voice, some generalisations can be made. In the case of an A/P or A/M/P verb, the relationship between the active and passive forms has the same relationship in meaning as an English pair would have.

The meaning of the middle, however, can be described to some extent under the following general headings.

1. Reflexive meaning - sub-divided into

- a. direct reflexive, i.e. those verbs that denote actions normally performed on the body or part of it,
e.g. BORNO 'clothe oneself', LOOTO 'wash oneself'.
- b. indirect reflexives where the action is not on the person's body but in his interest or for his own benefit.
e.g. O WU'YAKE 'he arranged a loan for his own benefit'.

2. Neuter (intransitive) meaning

e.g. MOOBTO 'assemble'.

The above is a summary of the Fula voice system and as stated earlier verbs occur in certain clause types in certain voices only, and some clause types can have verbs in certain voices only as will be seen.

The Fula Clause Types

Halliday's clause types for English have been introduced and explained in Chapter II. In this chapter it is intended, firstly, to show which of the English clause types have counterparts in Fula (with an indication of any restrictions which apply) and which do not; secondly, to describe and name clause types which are found in Fula but not in English; and finally to give in full, Fula clause types based on Halliday's concept of transitivity. Each major type is shown divided into sub-types. Verbs used in examples construct in all tenses except where otherwise stated.

Fula Clause Types Corresponding to English Clause Types

Extensive Clause Types

Effective operative, goal transitive

O NYAAMII NYIIRI	'he ate food'
O HOKKII BUUBA DEFTERE	'he gave Buba a book'
BELLO JOGAKE LABANGAL	'Bello caught hold of the reins'

Effective Operative, goal intransitive

O NYAAMII	'he ate'	(the verb being in the active voice)
O AUNAKE	'he took aim'	(the verb being in the middle voice)

Effective receptive, agent oriented

KOLTE LOOTAAMA	'the clothes have been washed'
NDIYAM TUKKAMA	'the water has been gulped'
(In these examples the goal functions as subject)	
BUUBA HOKKAAMA DEFTERE	'Buba was given a book'
(In this example the beneficiary functions as subject)	

All verbs in the receptive clauses are in the Passive Voice.

Effective receptive, process oriented

This occurs with only four verbs in the Active Voice, i.e.

SOORA 'sell', HABBA 'tie', DASA 'pull along (flow)' and TA'YA 'cut'.

e.g. MBAALU SOORII	'the sheep has sold'
NDIYAM DASII	'the water has flowed'
TEEGAL HABBII	'the marriage has been tied'
BOGGOL TA'YU	'the rope snapped'

But this clause type does occur with many verbs in the Middle Voice.

Four sub-types need to be distinguished:-

Firstly, (a) process oriented without any particular overtones.

This occurs:

- i. with certain verbs referring to actions that a Fulani does not normally perform on himself, these verbs occurring in any tense, e.g.

O MOORAKE	'she had her hair plaited'
O FEMBAKE	'he got shaved'
- ii. with other verbs in the Stative or Relative Past tense as well as in participial forms, e.g. NDE DON LOOTII - 'it is clean'. NDE LOOTIINDE 'it is washed'.

Secondly, process oriented with overtones of (b) Supervention,

e.g. O LOOTAKE	'he has got washed'
	(e.g. by rain falling on him)
NDE FECCAKE	'it has got broken'

(c) Thoroughness

e.g. O DUUFAKE	'he has been well beaten'
NDE LOOTOTO	'it will be well washed'

'(c)' is restricted to the General Past and General Future only.

(d) Potentiality

e.g. BAADE NDEN MAHOTO	'the house can be built'
KAA'YE YAKKATAAKO	'stones cannot be chewed'.

This sub-type (d) occurs in General Future, Relative Future, or Negative Future tenses of the Middle Voice only.

Effective Middle

This clause type occurs only with Middle voice verbs and has three sub-types:

as follows:

operative	-	BUUBA HOOSHII BELLO GINNAADO	
		'Buba took Bello (for) a madman'	(depictive)
		BUUBA MEETII BELLO LAAMIIDO	
		'Buba turbanned Bello chief'	(resultative)
middle	-	BUUBA WONI BUMDO/LAAMIIDO	
		'Buba is blind/chief'	(depictive)
		BUUBA WARTII LAAMIIDO	
		'Buba has become chief'	(resultative)
receptive	-	BUUBA HOOSHAAMA 'YOYDO	
		'Buba has been taken (for) a clever man'	(depictive)
		BUUBA HOOSHAAMA LEEBURA	
		'Buba has been employed (as a) labourer.'	(resultative)

Ergative

operative	-	BELLO NYIFII YIITE	/ BELLO WULII HUDO
		'Bello put out the fire'	'Bello burnt the grass'
middle	-	YIITE NYIFII	/ HUDO WULII
		'the fire went out'	'the grass burnt'
receptive	-	YIITE NYIFAAMA/HUDO WULAAMA	
		'the fire has been put out/the grass has been burnt'	

Two other types of clauses need to be identified for Fula that have no counterparts in English. These are (A) No-Subject clauses; and (B) Non-Verbal clauses.

A. No-Subject Clauses. While most verbal clauses have as their core a verb with either a noun or a pronoun subject, nevertheless there is a clause type having as its core a verbal form without any subject. In such clauses the verb is always one indicating the passing of time or the arrival of a time of the day or a season of the year or a meteorological phenomenon (cf. Appendix A.5.)

e.g. RUUMI	'the rainy season has come'
DABBI	'the dry season has come'
WEETII	'it is day'
JENNGII	'it is night'
NYIBBI	'it is dark'

B. Non-Verbal Clause Types. These consist simply of the juxtaposition of a nominal or nominal phrase as subject and another nominal or nominal phrase as complement.

e.g. BUUBA BUMDO	'Buba is blind'
O BOOSDO	'he is deformed'
BELLO NDOTTIJO	'Bello is a gentleman'

There is no verb involved, although the verb WONA is used in the emphatic equivalent.

BUUBA WONI BUMDO (it is) Buba (who) is blind.

Fula Participant Roles

All thirteen of the participant roles postulated by Halliday have their counterparts in Fula. But investigation of the Fula situation shows that there are at least another seven participant roles which need to be distinguished making twenty in all.

These participant roles are specified and illustrated below. They are discussed in two groups with such recapitulation as is necessary of the explanation given in the previous chapter, the first group consisting of those that construct with one-d.n. verbs and the second group consisting of those that construct with two-d.n. verbs. Two participants 'actor' and 'range' are relevant to both groups and they are given in the first section and only briefly mentioned in the second. In each group the Halliday roles are given first with examples from Fula and then the supplementary Fula roles. Since ^{the} Halliday roles are adequately explained in chapter two and since also the point here is to show that they apply to Fula, their description will not be given in detail but the Fula ones will need to be explained more fully.

A. Participant Roles in one-d.n. Constructions

Eight participants play various roles in the one-d.n. verb constructions, only one of these being supplementary to Halliday's list. These are listed with examples as follows:-

1. Actor. This is the participant that carries out the action in effective as well as descriptive clauses,
e.g. 'John' in 'John washed the car' (effective)

'John jumped the wall' (descriptive).

The Fula counterparts of these are BUUBA in the following examples:

and BUUBA LOOTII MOOTA 'Buba washed the car'
BUUBA DIWII KOWAAGOL 'Buba jumped the fence'.

2. Initiator This is the participant that initiates the action in descriptive operative clauses, e.g. 'John' in 'John marched the prisoners'. In Fula BUUBA in BUUBA OORII NA'I 'Buba took out the cattle for grazing'; BUUBA initiates the action by NA'I 'cattle' since the descriptive Middle counterpart of the above construction is NA'I OORII 'the cattle went out (for) grazing'.

3. Goal. This is the participant on which the action denoted by the verb falls, e.g. 'the car' in the example given above 'John washed the car'. In the same way MOOTA in the Fula example BUUBA LOOTII MOOTA.

4. Result. The referent of a result d.n. comes into existence as a result of the process of the verb, e.g. in 'John built a house', 'the house' is a result d.n. In Fula SUUDU will be a result d.n. in BUUBA MAHII SUUDU 'Buba built a room' since SUUDU comes into existence as a result of MAHII.

5. Range. (a) Quantity Range. This shows the extent or scope of the action, e.g. 'wall' in 'he jumped the wall'. Similarly, in Fula KOWAAGOL in BUUBA DIWII KOWAAGOL 'Buba jumped the fence' is a range d.n. so also is the destination d.n. DUKKU in BUUBA YAHII DUKKU 'Buba went (to) Dukku'.

(b) Quality Range. This shows the measure or the specific nature of the process of the verb, e.g. ~~'five yards' in 'he moved five yards'~~ or 'tennis' in 'he played tennis'. In Fula MEL JOYI ~~in a construction like BUUBA DOGII MEL JOYI~~ will be a range d.n. also LEWWA in BUUBA WAMII LEWWA 'Buba danced the Lewwa dance'.

6. Causer. This is the participant that causes the action denoted by the verb in ergative clauses, e.g. 'John' in 'John opened the door' in other words he caused the door to open. In Fula the

counterpart of this is BUUBA in BUUBA NYIFII YIITE 'Buba put out the fire' where BUUBA is the causer.

7. Affected. The 'door' and YIITE in 6 function as the affected in English and Fula respectively.

Supplementary Participant Role: Relevant to Fula

Only one supplementary participant role for Fula is found that constructs with the one-d.n. verbs and that is:-

8. Cause. This is the name given to the d.n. that explains the cause of the process of certain verbs that denote bodily reactions to certain internal or external influences on it, e.g. BUUBA DINWII JAANGOL 'Buba trembled from the cold' (literally, 'Buba trembled cold') also BUUBA JALII SEYO 'Buba laughed because of joy' (literally, 'Buba laughed joy'). JAANGOL (external) and SEYO (internal) are the causes of the process denoted by the verbs DINWII and JALII.

B. Participant Roles in two-d.n. Constructions

Thirteen participant roles have been found to be relevant to constructions with two-d.n. verbs. Half of this number are Halliday's and the other half specific to Fula. Of the Halliday roles ~~three~~ have already been mentioned above in Section A, viz. 'Actor'(1), 'Range' and 'Goal'(3).
(5). The following two Fula examples serve to illustrate them
A respectively:

Actor - BUUBA in BUUBA FIYII BELLO SAURU 'Buba hit Bello a stick'
Range - KOWAAGOL in BUUBA DIWII BELLO KOWAAGOL 'Buba jumped Bello's fence' (literally, Buba jumped Bello fence)(cf. Possessor below).

The rest of the Halliday roles that occur in two-d.n. constructions only are:-

9. Beneficiary. The beneficiary is the participant that benefits from the process of the verb, e.g. 'him' in 'she cooked him some food' or 'she gave him some money'. Similarly, in Fula BUUBA is beneficiary in BELLO HOKKII BUUBA SHEEDE. (It should be noted, however, that very often in Fula the beneficiary can only occur where the verb is combined with the 'Dative' extension -AN-. Thus the Fula equivalent

of 'Shatu cooked Buba some food' is not SHATU DEFII BUUBA NYIIRI but SHATU DEFANII BUUBA NYIIRI.)

8 10. Attribute. This is the d.n. which ascribes an attribute to another d.n., e.g. 'happy' in 'he thinks her happy'. This occurs in Fula in constructions like BELLO HOOSHII BUUBA GINNADO 'Bello took Buba (for) a madman', and BUUBA WONI BUMDO (it is) Buba (who) is blind', where GINNAADO and BUMDO are attributes.

11. Attribuant. This is the participant to which the attribute is ascribed, i.e. 'her' and BUUBA in English and Fula respectively in 10.

12. Attributor. i.e. 'he' and BELLO in English and Fula respectively in 10.

Supplementary Participant Roles Relevant to Fula

Six roles have been postulated for d.n.'s that occur in Fula constructions with the two-d.n. verbs as follows.

13. Instrument. As the name implies this is the role played by a d.n. that denotes the instrument used for performing the action denoted by the verb.

Verbs normally construct with d.n.s playing such a role after the addition of the instrumental extension -ir- , e.g. 'YEPTA 'to lift up'. 'YEPTIRA 'to lift up with/by'.
O 'YEPTIRII MO JUNNGO 'he lifted him up with the hand or by the hand'.

A few verbs however take d.n.'s playing this role of instrument even when used in their unextended forms, as an alternative to constructing with their extended forms, e.g. FIYA 'hit' where it is possible to say not only O FIYIRII MO SAURU 'he hit him with a stick' but also O FIYII MO SAURU 'he hit him (with) a stick'.

14. Medium. The medium is the role played by a d.n. that refers to what is used up in the process denoted by the verb, things like ointment, oil, grease, that are smeared on the body or part of it. The verbs that construct with d.n.'s playing this role are also those collocationally restricted to media of appropriate nature (e.g. viscosity).

- e.g. O WUJII MO NEBBAM 'he smeared him with oil'
 O FOLII NGAPALEEWOL KARMA 'he rubbed the gown (with)
 powdered indigo'

NEBBAM and KARMA play the role of medium.

15. Apparel. This is the role played by d.n.'s following certain verbs that denote wearing or putting on.
 e.g. NGAPALEEWOL in O BORNII BUUBA NGAPALEEWOL
 'he robed Buba (in) a gown'
 This role might at first appear to be second goal or instrument, but closer examination will show that it is neither. Thus it cannot become the subject of the corresponding passive, e.g. not * NGAPALEEWOL BORNNAAMA MO but O BORNNAAMA NGAPALEEWOL; nor can it be used in combination with the modal/instrumental extension -ir-. It could probably be treated as a type of quantity range. As with medium, the verbs that construct with this kind of d.n. are among those that are collocationally restricted to one type of noun for a d.n.

- e.g. BORNA - - - - - NGAPALEEWOL 'put a gown on - - -' 'robe - - gown'.
 WAATA - - - - - KODOL 'put a necklace on - - -'

16. Purpose. A d.n. can refer to the purpose for which the action denoted by the verb is done. This name is therefore given to any d.n. that fulfills this role, e.g. in BELLO WARII KUUGAL 'Bello came (for) work', KUUGAL is the d.n. that plays the role of 'purpose'. Purpose d.n.'s are normally found only after verbs of motion or imparted motion. ^(Appendix A.4)

17. Activity. This is the name given to the role of the d.n. that explains the activity that takes place during the time depicted by meteorological and temporal verbs (cf. Appendix A.5.)

- e.g. BOJJI in BELLO NYALLII BOJJI 'Bello spent the day (in) crying'.

18. Possessor. This role is required to describe the function of the first d.n. in the 'possessive construction' described in Appendix A.6., this first d.n. denoting the possessor of the person or thing denoted by the second d.n., e.g. BUUBA in BELLO FIYII BUUBA BINNGEL 'Bello hit Buba's child' (literally, 'Bello hit Buba child'.)

CHAPTER IV

CLASSIFICATION OF VERBS UNDER CLAUSE TYPES AND PARTICIPANT ROLES

Some division of the verbs can be made on the basis of the clause types in which they construct and the roles their d.n.'s can play in the constructions. In this section, relevant verbs are listed under the various clause types with different participant roles.

EXTENSIVE CLAUSE TYPES

Effective Operative Goal-Transitive

Verbs that construct in this clause type are so numerous and varied that it is not possible to find another common feature which will bind them together at the clause type level. These verbs occur in both Active and Middle voices and no neat division can be made on semantic criteria.

When participant roles of the d.n.'s are brought into play however, the verbs fall into a number of different types of groupings. Before bringing the participant roles into play, however, it is necessary to bring in the result-transitive clause type first as the two should be treated together.

Effective Operative Result-Transitive

The verbs that construct in Effective Operative result-transitive clauses take a d.n. playing the role of result and are of two types:

- (1) those that can only take a result d.n.; and
- (2) those that can take either a result or goal d.n.

The following verbs are among those that can take a result d.n. only.

TIGGA	establish	TAGA	create
WADA	establish	MUUYA	will (God)
YISBA	compose (poetry)	IINO	ordain (God)
FOFA	fabricate (lie)		
TITA	invent		

A far larger number of the result-transitive verbs can alternatively take a goal d.n. and are listed in (2) under the next heading.

e.g. BELLO MAHII SUUDU 'Bello built a house' (result)
 BELLO MAHII LOOPE 'Bello built (up) the mud' (goal)

Goal alternating with Result

All the verbs that can be used in this construction, as the name 'goal transitive' implies, take a goal d.n. but some can alternatively take a d.n. playing the role of result, i.e. they can also construct in 'result transitive' clause type. On this criterion, the verbs that construct in this clause type fall into two groups.

1. Verbs that take a 'goal' d.n. only like DIFA 'tug'

e.g. BUUBA DIFII BOGGOL Buba tugged the rope
 BELLO DOWII MBAALU Bello led the sheep

Verbs in this class include the following

<u>Active Voice</u>		<u>Middle Voice</u>	
NYAANYA	scratch	MUKKO	put in mouth
DIFA	tug	DUUNTO	make (one) fed up
FOONDA	measure	FAABO	protect
DOWA	lead	BAASO	sway out of the way
FUUFU	blow (on fire)	BAABO	take responsibility
SUMA	brand	MAANDO	fix in one's mind
SURA	control (cattle)	MA'O	warn
JURA	spoil (child)	TASO	turn up (trousers)
JUDA	roast	DABO	beat (floor)
HUUFU	take on lap	BARRO	warn
OMMBA	shut	SHABO	catch in the air
HOOMTA	reconcile	JAABO	answer
JUMPA	plunge (bucket)	JAALO	surpass
LUMMBA	put in middle	YAAFO	forgive
TA'YA	cut	YAAKO	follow in prayer
DASA	drag	'YAALO	ignore
UWA	bury	NYAAGO	quarrel with
NYAAMA	eat	BASHO	gnaw
LOOTA	wash	FADDO	prohibit
NGATA	bite	MAGGO	climb/mount
YIDA	like/want/love	TEEBO	beat (floor)
WANYA	hate	YEEBO	be careless about

<u>Active Voice</u>		<u>Middle Voice</u>	
DANYA	bear (human)	HEELO	intercept
RIMA	bear (animal)	FAALO	care about
BANGA	marry	IIKO	control
HOOWA	marry (young girl)	YIDO	rescue
SEERA	divorce	JIIYO	nurse
HAWA	butt		

2. Verbs that take a goal d.n. but can alternatively take a result d.n. like MOTTA

e.g. O MOTTTII BIRE she spun the cotton lint (goal)
 O MOTTTII GAARAAJI she spun the yarn (result)

Verbs in this group include the following

SANNYA	weave	SANYA	plait
HABBA	tie up	DEFA	cook
NYOOTA	sew	WADA	make, do
WASA	dig	TAKKA	steam (food)
WAALA	twist (rope)	'YARA	tattoo
UNA	pound	SEDA	winnow
TIGGA	set up	SEBA	carpenter
LOPPA	wet-pound	YISBA	compose
FACCA	make gruel	BIRA	milk
WESA	separate	SOTTA	pound to remove husk

Goal-Transitive Clauses with Additional d.n.'s

Some verbs that occur in the effective operative goal-transitive clauses types can occur in two d.n. constructions where one d.n. plays the role of goal and the other plays one or other of the following roles:- beneficiary; quantity range; quality range; instrument and genitive noun, as is shown below.

Goal and beneficiary

An example of this type of participant role combination is

BELLO HOKKII BUUBA GOORO Bello gave Buba colanuts

BELLO actor, HOKKII verb, BUUBA beneficiary and GOORO goal.

Verbs with the same potentiality include the following

<u>Active Voice</u>		<u>Middle Voice</u>	
YOBA	pay	SAAHOO	give
WU'YA	lend (things)	TOOSHO	give (gift to women)
HAGA	lend (money)	BIYO	pay
HADA	deny		
DAWA	deny		
SADKA	give as alms		
YEDA	distribute to		
RISKA	bestow (God)		
WI'A	tell		
TA'YA	levy		
HOLLA	show		

With regard to the omissibility of the d.n. these verbs form four groups:

- (1) Neither of the d.n.'s is omissible, e.g. TA'YA

O TA'YII BE SHEEDE 'he levied money on them'.

Neither the pronoun BE nor the noun SHEEDE can be omitted.

- (2) Goal only can be omitted. With five of the verbs listed above the goal d.n. can be omitted but not the beneficiary. These are

	HAGA	lend	
SAAHO	give	TOOSHO	give (gift to women)

The omission results in a goal-intransitive clause.

- (3) Beneficiary only can be omitted. With one verb only WI'A the beneficiary but not the goal can be omitted.

- (4) Either can be omitted. With the remaining seven verbs, either d.n. can be omitted. These seven being

YOBA	pay	WU'YA	lend	HADA	deny/hold back
SADKA	give alms			YEDA	distribute to
HOLLA	show			BIYO	pay

Goal and quantity range

The participant role of range is normally played by d.n.'s associated with descriptive constructions but some of the second d.n.'s in the effective constructions can also play this role. Verbs that

occur in this construction are normally verbs that denote processes that have to do with the body or a part of it.

e.g. BELLO FIYII BUUBA 'Bello hit Buba'.
BUUBA here being the goal.

If another d.n. like HOORE 'head' is added, it then specifies the extent or the location of the beating.

e.g. BELLO FIYII BUUBA HOORE 'BELLO hit BUBA (on) the head'.

The second d.n. HOORE plays the role of range. This second d.n. is not obligatory.

Verbs in this class include the following:-

TIL'YA	squash	YUWA	prick
FE'Y'YA	cut	SOPPA	stab
TUFA	prick	DIIDA	make long cuts
TAPPA	crush/hit	LATA	kick
MEEMA	touch	MOOYTA	stroke
HAWA	butt	WUJA	anoint
MOOMA	rub (on)	WOGGA	rub
TUPPA	prick (to let out pus)	'YARA	tattoo
NYO'Y'YA	press down	BAMTA	lift/prop
TIIGO	lean on/prop up	TUBBO	push
DABBA	foment	BOOSA	massage

Goal and quality range

Two types of verbs can take a quality range d.n. in addition to the goal d.n.

(a) Verbs of beating or attacking

With these verbs the quality range d.n. either (1) specifies the nature of the blow; or (2) is simply a true cognate and in the latter case it is normally qualified by an adjective or a numeral.

e.g. (1) O FIYII MO HELLO 'he hit him a slap'.

HELLO, which specifies the kind of beating, plays the role of quality range. Other verbs in this category include some of those that are

collocationally restricted such as (cf. Appendix A.3.)

DIRA - - - - -	LUKKERE	hit - - - - -	a hump
FEELTA - - - - -	HELLO	hit - - - - -	a slap
SOLNYA/ SULMA/ - - - - -	HELLO	hit - - - - -	slap
HOLBA/			
SOKA - - - - -	'YII'YAM	hit and condense blood in the flesh	

with all these verbs the range nominal is obligatory.

(2) Those that take a true cognate which is normally qualified by an adjective or a numeral

e.g. LUKKA 'to hit a blow'

in O LUKKI MO LUKKERE HALLUNDE 'he hit him a nasty blow'

LUKKERE, which is a true cognate, plays the role of quality range with the adjective HALLUNDE qualifying it, ~~or O LUKKII MO LUKKE TATI~~ 'he hit him three slaps'. Other verbs occurring in the same kind of construction include the following:-

<u>Active Voice</u>		<u>Middle Voice</u>	
DO'Y'YA	fell	NAUSHO	Hit (with a fist)
FIYA	beat	DEMBO	" " " "
REGGA	knuckle		
YER'YA	push		
LATA	kick		
JEKA	hit (say with elbow)		

(b) Verbs of transaction

Certain transactional verbs i.e. verbs connoting a transaction between two parties also take a second d.n. (or nominal phrase) functioning as a quality range in addition to the goal. This range nominal or phrase indicates price or value.

e.g. BUUBA SOODII MBAALU NAIRA TATI

Buba has bought a sheep three Naira

The noun NAIRA which is qualified by a numeral TATI specifies the value involved in the transaction. It plays the role of quality

range. Other verbs in this category include the following:-

<u>Active Voice</u>		<u>Middle Voice</u>	
SOORA	sell	TAYO	offer to buy
YOWA	levy	SALLAMOO	agree to sell
NYAAMTA	fine	KIIMO	assess (price)
DALA	agree to sell		

N.B. Other verbs that might perhaps be regarded as constructing with value and price nominals such as YOWA, BIYO 'pay' HOKKA 'give', denote processes of physical giving or paying the amounts mentioned and are listed under goal and beneficiary.

Goal and instrument

Certain verbs can construct with an additional d.n. functioning as instrument. These include verbs of beating and attacking in various ways like MERLA 'hit' (with a thin whip)

e.g. BELLO MERLII BUUBA 'Bello hit Buba (with) a thin whip'.

The second d.n. BOCCEL denotes the instrument used in process of the beating. Other verbs in this category are:-

WAAFA	hit (with long thin object)		
FIYA	hit	TAASHA	as WAAFA
YUMBA	stab	FE'Y'YA	chop
DUKKA	prod	YUWA	stab
WAMTA	hit (with stick)	SOPPA	spear
SAMMA	hit (with branch)	UGO	throw at (a missile)

Goal and medium

The additional nominal with some other verbs plays the role of medium. This is the term used to refer to the nominal referring to a substance that is used up in the process of the action denoted by the verb. These are verbs that denote processes like 'smear', 'anoint' etc.

e.g. O LAAFII MO NEBBAM 'he smeared him with grease oil'

In this construction, the second d.n. can be omitted but not the first. Other verbs that take a medium nominal are the following:-

WUJA	smear	SULMA	wash (face)
LOOTA	wash	MOOMA	rub (liquid) lightly
LIISTA	wash (private parts)	JOOJA	plaster (walls)

Goal and apparel

The additional nominals with some seven verbs denote some item of apparel used on the body.

e.g. O BORNII MO NGAFALÉ 'he dressed him (in) a gown'

These are among the verbs that are collocationally restricted to a specific noun or a small range of nouns related to one another for a d.n., (Appendix A.3). Some of the other verbs are

HUMNA	put on (cap)	FADDA	put on (trousers/shoes)
WAATA	put on (necklace)	WAANA	wrap around
MEETA	put on (turban)	SUDDA	cover

In this construction the apparel nominal, but not the goal, can be omitted.

Goal and possessor

In the genitive construction (cf Appendix A.6.), although it is the possessor that is the first dependent nominal, the goal is the second nominal, the thing possessed.

e.g. O NODDII YAM INNDE 'he called me (by) name'

Literally - 'he called me name'

BELLO FIYII BUUBA BINNGEL 'Bello hit Buba's son'

Literally - 'Bello hit Buba son'

The possessor YAM and BELLO take the morphological shape of object but the process falls on the possessed INNDE and BINNGEL. Most of the verbs so far dealt with, except those under 'goal and beneficiary', can occur in this construction. The 'goal and beneficiary' verbs can do so only after the -an- extension.

e.g. BELLO HOKKANII BUUBA BINNGEL SHEEDE

'Bello gave ^{for} Buba's son money'

Literally - 'Bello gave ^{for} Buba money son'

Other participant-role combinations

In the case of the result-transitive verbs, the additional participants cannot be used in combination with the result d.n. unless an extension is added to the verbal root.

e.g. BELLO MAHANII BUUBA SUUDU 'Bello built Buba a room'

EFFECTIVE OPERATIVE GOAL-INTRANSITIVE

The goal-intransitive construction is that in which the goal is not mentioned but can be understood. Verbs that occur in this construction are some of the verbs listed under the various sections of goal-transitive constructions including the following:-

NYAANYA	scratch	FOONDA	try/measure
MOORA	plait(hair)	JUMPA	plunge
TA'YA	cut	SANNYA	weave
HABBA	make a bundle	DEFA	cook
NYOOTA	sew	'YARA	tattoo
UNA	pound	SEDA	shake (to get flour)
ROTTA	serve (food)	MOTTA	spin
LOPPA	pound (wet)		

e.g. O NYAANYII PU'YEL MAAKO (goal-transitive)
he scratched his ulcer

O HABBII GAURI MAAKO (goal-transitive)
he tied (into bundles) his corn

O NYAANYII (goal-intransitive)
he scratched (sc.ulcer)

O HABBII (goal-intransitive)
He has tied (sc.his corn)

This construction does not have participants other than the actor which is obligatory and always functions as subject, and the beneficiary as indicated on p.39.

EFFECTIVE MIDDLE

Verbs that construct in this clause type mainly occur in the Middle Voice of A.M.P. verbs and always carry some overtones of reflexiveness, quasi-reflexiveness or supervision.

True Reflexives

These are verbs that denote action done on the body

e.g. BUUBA LOOTAKE 'Buba washed' (sc himself)

They include the following:-

LOOTO	wash (oneself)	WUJO	smear
BORNO	put on (gown)	FADDO	put (trousers) on
HUMNO	put on (cap)	YIGGO	rub (oneself) while washing
MEETO	wind on (turban)	LAAFO	smear
LALLO	rinse	SULMO	wash (one's) face
'YARO	tattoo	WAATO	put (necklace) on
WAANO	put cloth round	SUDDO	cover (oneself) up

Quasi-Reflexives

All verbs that denote an action to attain some bodily position or posture, or even to show an attitude, occur in this construction.

They include the following:-

SABBO	sit down carelessly
NYOOBBO	curl up
'YUKKINO	bend one's back
JURNGUNO	sit to look downcast
FUKKO	lie down lumpily
FOORTO	stretch
TURSINO	stand threateningly
DUMMINO	wear a gloomy face
NGASBINO	bite one's lip
FONNYINO	wear a miserable face
DIMMBO	shake

DO'Y'YO	fall
FERLO	sit cross-legged
DODO	get crooked, bend the neck
WUURO	bend
HIPPO	lie face down
TELLO	lie on the back
WAJJO	lie on the back
BAMTO	raise (oneself) up
HOFO	fall on knees
NGAABO	yawn (literally - open up)

All of these verbs have corresponding Active Forms which construct in Effective Operative clauses where the goal nominal is either someone else other than the subject or else a part of one's own body.

Supervention

The verbs that have these overtones are those that denote processes unintentionally done to the body.

e.g. BELLO DIIRTAKE 'Bello slipped down and fell'.

They include:-

MOOSTO	fall with thud	YOOPTO	fall with thud
SOLTO	slip down		

Participants and their roles

With regard to participants, this clause type can construct with four, apart from the subject. These are Medium, Instrument, Cause and Apparel.

Medium

Those verbs that can construct with a medium d.n.

e.g. O WUJAKE NEBBAM 'he annointed himself
(with) oil/ointment'

include:-

LOOTO	wash	LAAFO	smear excessively
SULMO	wash one's face (with)		

Instrument

Those verbs that take an instrument d.n.

e.g. O TUFKE BAATAL 'he has been pricked (with) a needle
(has got an injection)

These verbs include the following:-

SUMO	brand	YUWO	prick to let out pus
TUPPO	prick to let out pus (with hot needle)		

Apparel

Verbs that take an apparel d.n. are in the second list of those verbs that are collocationally restricted to certain types of d.n. only

e.g.	O BORNAKE NGAPALEWOL	'he put on a gown'
	O FADDAKE SARLA	'he put on trousers'

The verbs in this same category are as follows:-

HUMNO	put on cap	FADDO	put on shoes/trousers
MEETO	wrap turban	WAATO	put on necklace
SUDDO	cover	WAANO	cover with

All the verbs listed above as true-reflexives can take ^{one of those three types of} d.n. except for YIGGO and LALLO which cannot unless the instrumental extension **-ir-** is added to the root.

Cause

This role is played by participants that construct with some of the verbs that denote action with the body rather than on it, and the supervision verbs.

e.g.

O DON	NGAABO	WEELO	'yawn from hunger'.
JALA	laugh	SEDA	shake
WOYA	cry	MAJA	tremble
DINWA	tremble	GAABABTA	chatter (teeth)

EFFECTIVE RECEPTIVE AGENT-ORIENTED

In Effective Receptive agent-oriented clauses, the subject is the nominal which in Effective Operative clauses is goal or result d.n. As pointed out earlier, In Fula unlike in English, there is no way of showing the agent in this clause type.

e.g. BOGGOL FOODAAMA 'the rope has been pulled'

Verbs construct in this clause type in the Passive Voice. All verbs that can occur in the Effective Operative goal-transitive clause type

or result-transitive clause type can occur in this with the appropriate change in Voice.

Since the verbs in this construction are the same as those in Effective Operative goal-transitive and result-transitive clause types they are not listed here. Instead only the participants are mentioned and examples given.

Goal d.n. only

All the verbs listed under this heading in the operative clause type can construct in this receptive clause type.

- e.g. BAAWO NYAANYAAMA 'the back has been scratched'
 LONNGERE MUKKAAMA 'the leaf has been put in the mouth'

Goal, result alternation verbs

Both the goal and the result can occur as subject of the verb in the possessive construction.

- e.g. LEDDI MAHAAMA 'the mud has been built up' (goal)
 WURO MAHAAMA 'the house has been built' (result)

Goal and beneficiary

When these two participants are combined the beneficiary becomes the subject of the construction.

- e.g. BUUBA HOKKAAMA GOORO 'Buba has been given kola-nuts'

Note, however, that with such verbs the goal can occur as subject of the verb provided that the beneficiary is not also mentioned.

- e.g. GOORO HOKKAAMA 'kola-nuts have been given'

Goal and quantity range

With these participants the goal becomes the subject of the construction.

- e.g. O FIYAAMA HOORE 'he was hit on the head'
Not HOORE FIYAAMA MO

Goal and quality range

As for quantity range,

- e.g. O FIYAAMA HELLO 'he was hit a slap'
Not HELLO FIYAAMA MO

Goal and possessor

With these participants the possessor becomes the subject of the construction

[illegible][illegible]

EFFECTIVE RECEPTIVE PROCESS-ORIENTED

As explained in the chapter on clause types, the majority of the verbs that construct in this clause type do so in the Middle Voice, with the goal as subject. Only a few are found in the Active Voice, those being SOORA 'sell' and WADA 'do'.

DASA - pull along FOODTA - pull up (horse) TA'YA cut

e.g. NAGGE SOORII 'the cow has sold'

as opposed to the Effective Operative

BUUBA SOORII NAGGE	'Buba sold the cow'
NDIYAM DASII	'the water pulled itself along' (flowed)
PUCCU FOODTII	'the horse has pulled up'
KUUGAL WADII	'the work has been well done'
BOGGOL TA'YII	'the rope has cut'

Different types of verbs construct in the three different sub-types of this clause type identified earlier.

With no special overtones

Verbs that construct in this sub-type include the five verbs given above as being used in the Active Voice and verbs that denote processes that a Fulani does not normally perform on himself like LABO.

e.g. BUUBA LABAKE 'Buba has got shaved'

Other verbs include:-

FEMBOO	shave	'YARO	tattoo
TUPFO	prick with hot needle to let out pus		
HOMMBITO	cup to let out bad blood		

TUFO	prick (injection)
MOORO	plait (hair)
HUBBO	plait (hair)
SUMO	brand
YUWO	pierce with small knife (medically)

With Overtones of Supervention

Verbs that construct in this clause type are those that denote processes that are normally done intentionally but can also occur unintentionally. There are not many of these but the following two provide good examples. LOOTO 'wash' WUJO 'anoint'.

e.g. BUUBA LOOTAKE	'Buba got washed' (say by standing in the rain)
BELLO WUJAKE	'Bello got anointed' (by oil accidentally spilling on him)

With Overtones of Thoroughness

Verbs that construct in this clause type include those listed under goal/result alternation in Effective Operative goal-transitive type. These are SANNYA 'weave' MAHA 'build' etc.

They also include those verbs listed under 'goal only' that denote processes that permit of gradations in degree or effectiveness

like LAIBA	wash (dishes)	LOOTA	wash (other things)
'BOCCA	whip	FIYA	beat
WUUWA	sweep	MOOBTA	collect

e.g. TUMMUDE LAIBAKE	'the calabash has been well washed'
SUUDU WUUWAKE	'the room has been swept very clean'.

The other verbs in this list, like DIFA 'pull suddenly', HUUFU 'carry on the lap' and DUUNTO 'make (one) feel fed up', that denote processes in which such gradations are not possible, do not construct in this clause type.

With Overtones of Potentiality

All the verbs that appear under 'goal only' and 'goal/result alternation' can have overtones of potentiality when used in the

three Future Middle tenses (General Future, Relative Future and Negative Future) in this clause type.

e.g. TUMMUDE LATBOTO 'the calabash can be washed'

Constructions in this clause type occur normally without d.n.'s but occasionally a verb in one of these clause types can be followed by a d.n. of quality or quantity range or medium or instrument.

e.g. BUUBA 'BOCCAKE NGABBUUJI	'Buba was thoroughly whipped with Hippo-hide whips'
BUUBA WUJAKE NEBBAM	'Buba got anointed with (much) oil
BELLO FIYAKE HELLO	'Bello was thoroughly slapped' (Literally - Bello was thoroughly hit a slap)

DESCRIPTIVE CLAUSE TYPES

Two types of verbs construct in descriptive clauses. They are Action Verbs like DIWA 'jump' and supervision verbs like YANA 'fall'. There are three types of descriptive clauses, i.e. Descriptive Operative, Descriptive Receptive and Descriptive Middle. The first two are derived from the last mentioned which will therefore be dealt with first.

Descriptive Middle

e.g. BUUBA DIWII	'Buba jumped'
BUUBA SAALAKE	'Buba has passed'

Verbs that construct in this clause type are numerous and they include the following:-

<u>Action Verbs</u>		<u>Supervention Verbs</u>	
<u>Active</u>		<u>Active</u>	
OORA	go out to graze	WUMA	become blind
DURA	graze or feed	LAABA	become clean
SAAMNA	gallop	YANA	fall (objects)
YOKA	jump	FOTTA	meet
LADA	crawl	IDA	sink (in liquid)

Action VerbsActive

FIIRA	fly
FINA	wake up
DIWA	jump
WARA	come
YAHA	go
'YIWA	come from
HOOTA	go back
HUUSHA	approach
DILLA	go away

Middle

YOTTO	arrive
SAALO	proceed further, go past
FILO	go round
TIITO	face
HEWTO	catch up
DARO	stand/stop
JOODO	sit down
TAAMO	make ablution
SUUDO	hide
WAALO	lie down
JAA'YO	come back from grazing

Supervention VerbsActive

NUFA	sink in mud
MUTA	sink (in others)
WEEYA	float

Middle

FERGO	stumble
DAANO	sleep

Passive

WAARRE	become impotent
WEELE	become hungry

Supervention verbs also include all the attributive verbs (cf. Appendix A.2.) such as WOOJA 'to be red' MAUNA 'to be big' FAADA 'to be narrow'.

Descriptive Middle and Roles of Dependent Nominals

The dependent nominals with verbs in this clause type play four roles. Quantity range (including destination and origin), quality range, cause and purpose.

Quantity Range

The quantity range d.n. does not 'receive' the action denoted by the verb with which it constructs but rather explains the 'scope' or 'range' of the process. Not all descriptive verbs, however, construct with a range d.n. On the whole they fall into three categories with regard to their potential of constructing with quantity range d.n.'s.

With the first category, range is not possible, with the second category range is optional, and with the third range is obligatory.

The verbs listed under Descriptive Middle above will therefore be divided as follows:

(a) No Range. These include the verbs listed under supervision and occur in (i) the Active Voice; and (ii) the Passive Voice but not those occurring in the Middle Voice, i.e. FERGO, DAANO, JAA'YO.

(b) Range Optional (destination)(cf. Appendix A.1.). Some verbs can take as their d.n. place nouns showing destination or origin, but those destination or origin words can be either mentioned or omitted. They include the following verbs:-

DILLA	go (to)	JOODO	sit/stay (at)
HOOTA	return (to)	SAALO	pass (to)
WARA	come (to)	YOTTO	arrive (at)
YAHA	go (to)	WURTO	come/go out (from)
NASTA	come/go in (to)		

e.g. BELLO DILLII LUUMO or BELLO DILLII

Range Optional (others). Some verbs which can potentially take range nominals other than 'destination' (above) and also other than those d.n.'s showing 'origin' may or may not have their range nominals omitted. These include verbs like the following:-

DIWA	jump	JANNGA (DEFTERE)	read 'book'
FERGO	stumble	'YABBITO	cross over (fence)
FILO	round	FE'Y'YITA	cross (street or river)

e.g. BUUBA DIWII 'Buba jumped'
or BUUBA DIWII KOWAAGOL 'Buba jumped the fence'

(c) Range Obligatory. Certain verbs that indicate a specific locative relationship must have the range d.n. mentioned.

e.g. 'YIWA in BELLO 'YIWII LUUMO 'Bello came from the market'
Others are TIITO 'face', FA'A 'make for' and HEWTO 'catch up with/overtake'. In constructions of this type O 'YIWII WURO 'he came from home' is possible but not O 'YIWII. BELLO HEWTAKE BUUBA

'Bello overtook Buba' is possible but not BELLO HEWTAKE.

Quality Range

Descriptive verbs that construct with quality range are:

(i) those verbs whose type of process can be explained by a true or quasi-cognate object nominal, e.g. YIMA 'sing' where the true cognate GIMOL 'song', with or without a qualifying adjective, can be used to explain the process of the verb in more detail.

e.g. BELLO YIMII GIMOL BELNGOL 'Bello sang a nice song'

or a quasi-cognate can be used instead of the true cognate

e.g. BELLO YIMII LEWWA 'Bello sang the Lewwa song'.

Other action verbs in this category include:-

WAMA	dance	DUUDA	blow (tune)
FIJA	play	JUULA	pray
FEWA	lie	JANNGA	read
WOLWA	speak	SUUMOO	fast

With all the verbs listed above the range is optional.

(ii) The second group of verbs that take quality range are performance verbs (cf. Appendix A.4.). Performance verbs being those verbs that do not themselves denote any definite process but have to be used with nominals that denote the actual process. The infinitive form which is the form normally used with performance verbs is considered a kind of quality range.

e.g. BELLO WOOWII WARKI 'Bello is used to coming'

WARKI being the quality range. Other performance verbs include the following:-

MEEDA	to do at least once	MEETA	do again
WAIRA	leave for a long time	FUDDA	start
WADA KA	keep doing	BEDDA	do again
UMMO	set about doing	DALA	stop/leave
HUUSHA	be about to do	NESA	almost do

With some of these verbs an action noun can be used instead of the infinitive.

- e.g. O FUDDII BOJJI 'he has started crying'
 BELLO WAIRI YAADU 'Bello has spent a long time
 without travel'

With performance verbs the range is obligatory.

Purpose

Those verbs listed under quality range, that take place-nouns as d.n.'s can, in addition to it or alternatively, take an infinitive or an action noun which explains the purpose of the process denoted by the verb.

- e.g. BUUBA WARII JANNGUKI/JANGDE 'Buba came to read/for reading'
 BELLO NASTII WAALAAKI 'Bello got in to lie down'

JANNGUKI, JANGDE and WAALAAKI play the role of Purpose.

Participant role combination in descriptive clauses

Only two ^{pairs of} participant roles can combine in descriptive constructions and even that is with certain verbs only. The roles that combine are:-

Quantity range and Purpose

The verbs that can construct with these two d.n. roles are those referred to under 'purpose'.

- e.g. BELLO SELII JAADA JANNGUKI 'Bello detoured to Jada to learn'

Quantity range and Possessor

Most of the verbs that construct in descriptive Middle with a quantity range d.n. also take a second d.n. in the immediate post-verbal position. This added d.n. functions as the 'possessor' of the object referred to by the range nominal (cf. Appendix A.6.)

- e.g. BELLO DIWII BUUBA KOWAAGOL 'Bello jumped Buba('s) fence'

As in the Effective Clauses with the possessor, it is the possessor d.n. that is subject to changes occurring because of syntactic permutations. For example it becomes the subject of the passive,

- e.g. BUUBA DIWAAMA KOWAAGOL 'Buba was jumped fence'.

DESCRIPTIVE OPERATIVE

This clause type occurs with a very limited number of verbs in Fula. In fact only four verbs are known to occur in this construction. These are:

OORA	'take out to grazing'
JAA'YO	'bring back from pasture'
DURA	'feed/graze'
SAAMNA	'gallop (a horse)'

e.g. BELLO OORII NA'I 'Bello took cattle out to graze'

This is derived from the descriptive Middle NA'I OORII 'cattle have gone out to graze'.

Descriptive Operative and Participant Roles

The Participants involved in this construction are 'initiator' and 'actor'. The initiator functions as subject and the actor as object.

e.g. BELLO OORII NA'I 'Bello took out the cattle for grazing'.

BELLO is the initiator and the subject.

NA'I is the actor and the object.

The descriptive operative clause type does not construct with participants other than the two mentioned above.

DESCRIPTIVE RECEPTIVE

As this construction is derived from the operative one, the same verbs (the five listed under operative) construct in both of them.

The receptive equivalent of the example given above in the operative is NA'I OORAAMA 'the cattle have been taken out to graze'. Here the actor, but not initiator, becomes the subject of the construction. No other participants occur in this clause type.

INTENSIVE CLAUSE TYPES

The intensive construction is possible with only a few verbs in Fula but all the three types occur.

INTENSIVE OPERATIVE

Most verbs that construct in this clause type do so in their extended form, e.g. WARTIRA (from WARTA 'become') 'make out', NDAARTIRA (from NDAARA 'look') 'look at as, consider'.

- e.g. O WARTIRII YAM GINNAADO 'he made me out as a mad man'
O NDAARTIRII YAM BACCIL 'he considered me a child'

Only five verbs are seen to construct in this clause type in their simple form, these verbs being:-

HOOSHA	consider/take for	SUBA	choose
HOOSHA	employ	MEETA	turban
WADA	make		

- e.g. BELLO HOOSHII BUUBA MEEREJEJO 'Bello considered Buba lazy'
YIMBE SHUBII BUUBA JAURO 'people chose Buba (to be) chief'
BE MEETII BELLO LAMIIDO 'they have turbanned Bello emir'

INTENSIVE MIDDLE

None of the verbs listed above construct in this clause type. Those verbs that do are normally some of those that have to be extended to construct in the operative types, e.g. WARTA 'become' in

- MUUSA WARTII GINNADO 'Musa has become a mad man'

Other verbs with the same behaviour are LAATO 'become', WONA 'be'.

INTENSIVE RECEPTIVE

The same verbs that construct in the operative clause type also construct in this type,

- e.g. BELLO MEETAAMA LAAMIIDO 'Bello has been turbanned chief'.

Intensive Clauses and Participant Roles

The roles that participants play in these clause types are (a) attribute; (b) attributor; and (c) attribuant. The attribute

is of two types, depictive and resultative. In the example given earlier BELLO HOOSHII BUUBA GINNADO 'Bello considered Buba mad' BELLO is the attributor, BUUBA the attribuant and GINNAADO the attribute (depictive).

In BE MEETII BELLO LAAMIIDO 'they turbanned Bello a chief' the attribute is resultative because it applies to the attribuant as a result of the process of the verb.

ERGATIVE CLAUSE TYPES

Only a few verbs occur in the three ergative clause types, the same verbs occurring in all three. It is sufficient therefore to list them only once. They are:-

WULA	burn	NYIFA	quench
HUBBA	inflame	FUSA	break

The participants involved in the ergative clause type are the CAUSER and the AFFECTED.

In the Ergative Operative, the Causer is subject and the affected is object,

e.g. BUUBA WULII LEDDE 'Buba burnt wood'

In the Ergative Middle and Ergative Receptive clauses, the affected only is involved and it functions as subject.

e.g. LEDDE NGULII 'the wood burnt'
LEDDE NGULAAMA 'the wood has been burnt'

It is interesting to note that all the verbs except FUSA have something to do with burning.

NO SUBJECT CLAUSE TYPES

Verbs that can occur in this clause type are meteorological or temporal verbs (cf. Appendix A.5.).

e.g. RUUMII 'the wet season has come'
WEETII 'day has broken'

The full list is:

RUUMA	wet season arrive	HIIRA	night fall
SEEDA	dry season arrive	JENNGA	night fall
DABBA	post-harvest time arrive	NYTBBA	darkness fall
SEETA	spring arrive	WEETA	day break
'YAAWA	harvest time arrive	NYALWA	day wear on
BOOYA	pass (long time)	NYALLA	day come and pass
NEEBA	" " "	WAALA	night come and pass

Meteorological Verbs and Participant Roles

Whereas these verbs standing alone can constitute a sentence, e.g. RUUMII 'the wet season has come', they can also take a participant with a slight change in meaning.

1. Subject

When the meteorological and temporal verbs construct with a subject (probably to be interpreted as actor, though this is perhaps arguable), they carry the meaning of 'spend', with their referent used as a time measure.

- e.g. BUUBA RUUMII 'Buba has spent the rainy season'
 BUUBA SEEDII 'Buba has spent the dry season'

Of the twelve verbs listed, nine can construct with a subject, the exceptions being JENNGA, NYTBBA and NYALWA. These can only occur with a subject in their extended forms with the extension -in-,

- e.g. BUUBA JENNGINII 'Buba has gone well into the night'.

2. Quantity Range (locative)

A locative noun can be added to the subject plus verb construction to show where the time depicted by the verb is spent.

- e.g. BUUBA RUUMII AKKO 'Buba has spent the rainy season in Akko'

This also applies as above to the nine verbs, the three exceptions JENNGA, NYTBBA and NYALWA can only construct with a locative adverbial phrase in their extended form

- e.g. BUUBA JENNGINII E AKKO 'Buba has gone well into the
 night at Akko'.

5. Activity

Infinitives or action nouns can be added to the subject-verb construction to show what was being done during the time depicted by the verb.

e.g. BUUBA RUUMII JANNGUKI/JANGDE 'Buba spent the rainy
season learning '
Literally - 'reading'
BELLO NYALLII BOJJI/YAADU 'Bello spent the day
crying/walking'

Participant Combinations

These two participants, range and activity, cannot be combined, the equivalent meaning being expressed by means of a subordinate verbal phrase instead of the second nominal. The construction will then be either

BUUBA NYALLII AKKO E JANNGA

'Buba spent the day in Akko reading'

or

BUUBA NYALLII JANNGUKI E AKKO

'Buba spent the day reading in Akko'

In this chapter verbs have been classified according to the clause types they construct in and participant roles of their d.n.'s.

By far the largest number of verbs construct in the Extensive effective clause types with the appropriate participant roles. A fairly large number of verbs construct in the Extensive descriptive clause types but the participant roles with this clause type are fairly limited. Relatively few verbs in each case construct in the Intensive and Ergative clause types.

The most interesting patterns are found in the Extensive effective clause types and in Appendix B the various combinations which occur are set out in tabular form, and illustrated by representative verbs.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

For an adequate classification of Fula verbs it is necessary to take account of both syntactic and semantic criteria. Halliday's approach to transitivity in English provides a useful framework, although the differences between the two languages mean that some of his categories are unnecessary for Fula, while at the same time certain supplementary categories need to be added. The various clause types and participant roles postulated for Fula provide a satisfactory basis for the classification of Fula verbs, although further detailed investigation, and no doubt further refinements, would be required to arrive at a completely comprehensive classification.

APPENDIX ASOME SPECIAL TYPES OF VERBS1. Verbs of Motion, Cessation of Motion, and Imparted Motion

Verbs that denote motion whether imparted or direct, or the cessation of such motion construct with one or two, or in the case of imparted motion three d.n.'s. These d.n.'s depict a destination, or a purpose. The destination d.n. is normally a locative noun and the purpose either an infinitive or a verbo-nominal. These are verbs like DILLA 'go', YAHA 'go', DARO 'stop' and LELA 'send'. The first two denote motion, the third cessation of motion and the fourth imparted motion. Examples with locative nouns are:-

O DILLI JAADA	'he went away to Jada'
O YAHII JAADA	'he went to Jada'
O DARAKE JAADA	'he stopped at Jada'
O LELII JAADA	'he sent to Jada'

In all the above examples, the d.n. shows the location or direction of the process denoted by the verb. But such verbs can also be followed by a d.n. that could specify the purpose for which the process takes place. In that case the d.n. is either an infinitive or a de-verbal noun.

e.g. O DILLII JANNGUKI/JANGDE/JAHAANGAL	'he went reading/school/journey'
O YAHII FIJUKI/FIJIRDE	'he went to a play/to a play'
O DARAKE JANNGUKI	'he stopped to play'

Other verbs of the same category are WARTA 'come back', NASTA 'enter', FA'A 'head for', WURTO 'come out', HOOTA 'go back to', YEENGA 'climb', NGABBO 'mount', DOGGA 'run', JUURTA 'go down', SAALO 'pass by', JOODO 'stay', and TUBBO 'send'.

These verbs except those denoting motion can construct with the two d.n.'s at the same time.

e.g. O DILLII JAADA JANNGUKI 'he went to Jada to read'

These d.n.'s have no fixed order of occurrence in the syntax as either can come first or second.

The infinitive or verbal noun can be replaced by a clause with the verb in the subjunctive, whether it comes first or second, e.g. O DILLII JAADA O JANNGA, but whereas the locative noun stays the same if it precedes the clause, it has to be changed into a locative adverbial phrase if it is preceded by it.

i.e. O DILLII JAADA O JANNGA but

O DILLII O JANNGA E JAADA and

* O DILLII O JANNGA JAADA is not possible.

With regard to those denoting imparted motion, i.e. LELA and TUBBO, they can only construct with the two d.n.'s if a third concrete noun precedes them.

e.g. O LELII BUUBA JAADA JANNGUKI

The above interpolation and substitution can then operate between JAADA and JANNGUKI.

No tense restriction applies to the use of these verbs.

2. Attributive Verbs

Attributive verbs are verbs that denote the acquisition of certain qualities, physical or abstract, e.g. MAUNA 'become/be big'; WOOJA 'become/be red'; HALLA 'become/be bad or ugly', and it is these verbs which are used in circumstances where other languages would use an adjective predicatively.

There are about one hundred and twenty verbs in this class which can be sub-divided into smaller groups depicting size and shape,

e.g.	MAUNA	be big
	WOOJA	be red
Position	TOWA	be high
	LEESA	be low
Nature/ Texture	TEKKA	be fat
	DIGGA	be soft
Weight	TEDDA	be heavy
	DAAYA	be light
Feel	FOOWA	be hot
	SOOFA	be wet
Smell	UURA	be fragrant
	HACCA	be foul smelling
Colour	BALWA	be black
	WOOJA	be red
Taste	HAADA	be bitter
	LAAMA	be sour
Quality/ Character	WOODA	be beautiful
	WONDA	be wicked

These verbs normally construct without a dependent nominal.

e.g. BELLO MAUNII 'Bello has grown big'
 GITE BUUBA MBOOJII 'Buba's eyes have reddened'

When this zero d.n. construction is used, in all the tenses it means the acquisition of the attribute denoted by the verb. But in addition, five tenses can have an added meaning of possession of the quality to excess. These tenses are:

	General Past	Negative Past
	Emphatic Past	
	General Future	Negative Future
e.g.	G.P. DUM FAADII	'it is too narrow'
	E.P. DUM FAADU	'it was too narrow'
	G.F. DUM MAUNAI	'it will be too big'
	N.P. DUM MAUNAAYI	'it wasn't too big'
	N.F. DUM MAUNATAA	'it won't be too big'

These verbs are used in the Stative tense to indicate the possession of the attribute denoted by the verb at the time in question

E DUM TUNWI 'it is in a dirty state', but with an implication of temporariness. This usage contrasts with the participial construction which does not imply temporariness, e.g. DUM TUNWUDUM 'it is dirty'. A further characteristic of the attributive verbs is their use in the 'Negative of quality' tense (which is otherwise relatively rare) functioning as the negative counterpart of both the last two constructions.

e.g. DUM TUNWAA 'it is not dirty/not in a dirty state'

In the verbal but not in the participial constructions, attributive verbs can potentially take a d.n. This nominal usually denotes a part of the body or some other part of a whole, but may indicate a cause.

e.g. BUUBA MAUNII HOORE 'Buba grew big (in) the head'
 BELLO HALLII GIKKU 'Bello became bad (of) character'
 MI TAMPII YAADU 'I have become tired (of) walking'

Syntactic restrictions

Attributive verbs do not construct in the passive, their d.n.'s cannot therefore be subjects of the passive. Furthermore, these d.n.'s cannot be pronominalised. Thus JUNNGO in O MAUNII JUNNGO cannot be replaced by NGO, i.e. * O MAUNII NGO is not possible.

3. Verbs with Collocational Restrictions

With most verbs of 'beating' and 'wearing' some collocational restrictions operate between them and the d.n.'s they can construct with - normally as a second d.n.

Verbs denoting various types of beating

Some of the verbs of beating are restricted to a characteristic of the 'instrument' used in performing them, while others are collocationally restricted to the kind of beating. Examples of those restricted to a characteristic of the instrument include:

MERLA to hit with a thin long object, like a thin whip
 TAASHA to hit with a long fairly thick but flexible
 object, like a guinea-corn stalk.
 WUBBA to hit with a thick stick.
 BOCCA to hit with a whip.

e.g. BELLO MERLII BUUBA BOCCEL 'Bello hit Buba with a thin whip'

None of the other verbs can take say BOCCEL as a d.n. though they all mean 'hit'.

Verbs restricted to a kind of beating include the following:

SOLNYA, SOLTA and FEELTA, all of which mean 'to (hit a) slap'.

They can only take HELLO as a d.n.

e.g. BELLO SOLNYII BUUBA HELLO 'Bello hit Buba a slap'

DIRA meaning 'to hit with the underpart of a clenched fist', 'thump'
 can only take LUKKERE as a d.n.

NAUSHO meaning 'to punch with a clenched fist'
 can only take DEMBEERE as a d.n.

Verbs of Wearing

These are restricted to the articles worn, e.g. To put on:

BORNA if the d.n. is NGAPALE 'gown'.
 FADDA if the d.n. has something to do with the legs or feet:
 nouns like SARLA 'trousers', PADE 'shoes' and SOK 'socks'.
 HUMNA if the d.n. is HUMNEERE 'a cap', WORONNDE 'fez'.
 MEETA if the d.n. is MEETALOL 'a turban'.
 WAATA on the other hand is very much more general in its
 reference, the articles involved, including FEGGERE 'ring',
 KODOL 'necklace', AGOOGO 'watch' and WORWORO 'bracelet'.
 WAANA wrap with (say) godosare
 SUDDA cover with cloth

4. Performance Verbs

Twenty-four verbs were found whose use is always closely associated with the infinitives that always follow them. These verbs are termed performance verbs since they do not themselves always indicate a process but depict some aspect of the performance

of a process denoted by other verbs in the infinitive or a noun derived from these other verbs, or sometimes a dependent verbal clause.

These verbs include FUDDA 'start', MEEDA 'do for the first time', WAAWA 'to be able to'

e.g. O FUDDI WARKI 'he has started coming'
 O MEEDII UMMAKI 'he once stood up'
 O WOOWII JOODAAKI 'he is used to sitting'

OR

O FUDDII FIJIRDE 'he has started playing'
 O MEEDII O WARA 'he once came'
 TO O MEETII O Warii 'if he (again) comes'

The above examples show that infinitives, verbo-nominals, the subjunctive and the general Past tense can follow these verbs of performance.

Whereas the infinitives and verbo-nominals can follow any of the twenty four verbs, the subjunctive can follow twenty two out of the twenty four, the exceptions being FABBITA 'change one's mind' and the compound verb WADA?KA 'keep doing'.

5. Temporal and Meteorological Verbs

The behaviour of fifteen verbs indicating some aspects of the passage of time was found to be unique in that they can be used without either subject or object or any other dependent grammatical items. These verbs are NYALWA 'be day', HIIRA 'be night', JENNGA 'be late at night', WEETA 'be morning', NYTBBA 'be dark', DABBA 'be dry season', 'YAAWA 'be harvest-time', SEEDA 'be hot season', RUUMA 'be wet season', WAALA 'night to come and pass', NYALLA 'day to come and pass', BOOYA 'be a long time', YAAWTO 'be a long time', NEEBA 'be long time' and FOOBTA 'be long time'.

WEETII, for example, means 'dawn has broken' or 'day has arrived'. There is nothing however in the root of the verb that is even remotely connected with 'day' NYALANDE or 'dawn' FAJIRI/BABBOL. This verb and the fourteen others listed above in one mode of their behaviour occur independently of a subject or dependent nominal,

e.g. WEETII	'dawn has broken/day has come/it is daytime'
HIIRII	'night has arrived'
RUUMII	'the wet season has arrived'.

Similarly JENNGII, NYIBBII, DABBII, 'YAAWII and SEEDII.

Seven of these verbs WAALA, NYALLA, RUUMA, BOOYA, NEEBA and FOOBTA can indicate the complete elapse of the units of time, night, daytime, year, in the case of the first three, and an indeterminate time or a long time in the case of the rest, which have roughly the same meaning.

The first three which show the elapse of specific periods of time can construct with a numeral, e.g. WAALII DIDI/ TATI etc. 'spent two/three nights'.

All the verbs can be followed by the words SEDDA/SHIM ('a few / a little') but what the connotation will be falls into two divisions. With the three verbs WAALA, NYALLA and RUUMA it means 'a few' (nights, days or years) while with the other twelve it means 'has advance/ progressed a little'

e.g. NYALWII SEDDA	'the day has worn on a little'.
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In addition, the second group of twelve verbs construct with the opposite of SEDDA/SHIM viz MASIN, and SOOSAI. Thus is it possible to say WEETII MASIN 'it is well on in the day'; HIIRII MASIN 'it is well on in the night', but it is not possible to say WAALII MASIN. Though it is possible to say RUUMII MASIN this is only with the meaning of 'wet season' not 'the year'. In this sense RUUMA is comparable to DABBA, SEEDA etc. and in fact one should perhaps distinguish between

RUUMA and RUUMA: (i) referring to the season; and (ii) referring to the year as a measurement of time.

A third meaning, that of over-lateness, is associated with NYALWA and also with HIIRA and JENNGA, but this is a semantic distinction only which does not seem to have any syntactic correlation.

With Subject and other Dependent Items

Eleven of these fifteen verbs can construct with a subject and in such a construction the connotation is to 'spend' the time denoted by the verb mentioned. MUUSA NYALLII for example means 'Musa has spent the day', WAALII 'has spent the night', etc. BOOYA and its synonyms when they construct with a subject mean 'to spend a long time'. MUUSA BOOYII means 'Musa has spent a long time'. NYALWA, JENNGA and NYIBBA are not used with a subject except as described below. With regard to FOOBTA though it is possible to use it with a subject this is with a different meaning of 'take a rest' or 'be relieved' so that in effect it is another verb with the same form. FOOBTA as a verb indicating passage of time is thus unique in being used without a subject and never with a subject.

The unextended forms of NYALWA and JENNGA can only have as subject the special terms NYALAUMA 'daytime' and JEMMA 'night' viz NYALAUMA NYALWII and JEMMA JENNGII, similarly BIMBI 'early morning' can occur as subject of WEETA, e.g. BIMBI WEETII.

The three exceptional verbs NYALWA, JENNGA and NYIBBA can construct with a personal subject only after having been extended when combined with the causative extension -in-, when they carry the meaning of lateness. MUUSA NYALWINII means 'Musa has done something late in the day'. Likewise JENNGA and NYIBBA.

When used with a subject these eleven verbs can construct with a locative noun, while the seven verbs indicating specific time can alternatively construct with an infinitive.

MUUSA NYALLII 'Musa spent the day'
 MUUSA NYALLII LUUMO 'Musa spent the day in the market'
 MUUSA NYALLII JANNGUKI 'Musa spent the day reading'

As well as locative nouns and infinitives these verbs, except the three mentioned above, can construct with other nominals or phrases in dependent position.

e.g. BELLO WAALII E JANNGA 'Bello spent the night reading'

or

O WAALII E MO JANNGA 'he spent the night he was reading'

6. Possessive Construction

Verbs that normally have one d.n. can have yet another to form the equivalent of a possessive construction so long as the primary d.n. is a concrete noun.

e.g. O FIYII BINNGEL 'he hit a child'

To this construction can be added another noun or nominal immediately after the verb which will be in a possessive relationship to the following d.n.

e.g. O FIYII BUUBA BINNGEL 'he hit Buba's child'
 (Literally - 'he hit Buba child')

or

O FIYII YAM BINNGEL 'he hit my child'
 (Literally - 'he hit me child')

This is different from a direct translation of the English - 'he hit my child' O FIYII BINNGEL AM which is also possible.

The only verbs that can occur in this construction as stated above are verbs where the primary d.n. is a concrete noun. These are verbs like FIYA 'hit', HUDA 'abuse', FADDA 'kill'. What may look superficially like this construction but is in fact different is a construction with a concrete noun as a first d.n. and an instrumental object as a second d.n.

e.g. O FIYII YAM SAURU 'he hit me (with) a stick'

SAURU is the instrument used and has no relation of possession with the first d.n. YAM.

Where a nominal denoting a part of the body is used, two alternative interpretations are possible, either locative or possessive. Thus O FIYII YAM HOORE can mean either O FIYII YAM E HOORE (locative) or O FIYII HOORE AM (possessive). But this ambiguity occurs only with verbs that are A/P only.

With A/M/P verbs like TA'YA the sentence has a possessive meaning only, even when part of the body is used as the d.n., and the locative meaning has to be expressed by means of an adjunct.

e.g. BE TA'YII MO HOORE 'they cut off his head'

but

BE TAYII MO E HOORE 'they cut him on the head'

APPENDIX B

VERB	MEANING	C L A U S E T Y P E S					P A R T I C I P A N T R O L E S									
		Operative	Middle	Receptive	Process-Oriented	Primary d.n.	R	Qt.Rg.	Ql.Rg.	Inst.	Ben.	Poss.	App. ¹	Med.		
G.Tr. G.Intr. R.Tr. Refl. Q.Refl. Sup. ⁿ Ag.Or. ¹ No.Ot. Sup. ⁿ Thor. Pot.																
YOBÀ	Pay	+	+		+		+	+					+			
WU'YÀ	lend (things)	+	+		+		+	+					+			
HAGÀ	lend (money)	+	+		+		+	+					+			
HADÀ	refuse	+	+		+		+	+					+			
DÀWÀ	deny	+	+		+		+	+					+			
SADKÀ	give alms	+	+		+		+	+					+			
YEDÀ	give share	+	+		+		+	+					+			
WI'À	tell	+	+		+		+	+					+			
TOOSHO	give (for favour)	+	+		+		+	+					+			
BIYO	pay	+	+		+		+	+					+			
RISKÀ	bestow (God)	+			+			+					+			
TA'YÀ	price	+			+			+					+			
HOLLA	show	+	+		+			+					+			
SAAHO	give (gift)	+	+		+			+					+			
FIYÀ	hit	+	+		+		+	+					+			
TAPPA	bent	+	+		+		+	+					+			
'YARÀ	tattoo	+	+	+	+		+	+					+			
JEKÀ	hit (eg with elbow)	+	+		+		+	+					+			
LATÀ	kick	+	+		+		+	+					+			
NAUSHO	punch	+	+		+		+	+					+			
DEMBO	punch	+	+		+		+	+					+			
TUFÀ	prick	+	+		+		+	+					+			
TUPPA	prick (for pus)	+	+		+		+	+					+			
YUWÀ	stab	+	+	+	+		+	+					+			
SOPPA	prick (eg spear)	+	+		+		+	+					+			
DIDÀ	draw line	+	+		+		+	+					+			
FE'Y'YÀ	cut (with axe)	+	+		+		+	+					+			
UGO	throw at	+			+		+	+					+			
WUJÀ	smear	+	+		+		+	+					+			
SUMJÀ	wash face	+			+		+	+					+			
LOOTÀ	wash (body)	+	+		+		+	+					+			
WOGGÀ	rub	+	+		+		+	+					+			
MOOMÀ	smear (eg water)	+	+		+		+	+					+			

[illegible]K E Y

	Goal	Beneficiary
G.tr.	Goal-transitive	Beneficiary
G.Intr.	Goal-intransitive	Possessor
R.Tr.	Result-transitive	Apparal
Ref.	Reflexive	Medium
Q.ref.	Quasi-reflexive	